GENERATION CHALLENGES FOR ARMY TRANSFORMATION

BY

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USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

GENERATION CHALLENGES FOR ARMY TRANSFORMATION

by

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Colonel David J. Smith Project Adviser

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ABSTRACT

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Three different generations serving simultaneously in the ranks is a challenge the United States Army faces as it adjusts to the effects of its transformation objective. This paper presents the differences and opportunities of three distinct generations serving simultaneously. Additionally, this paper considers the Generation Y perspective to determine what might inspire them to serve in the U.S. Army during its transformation. Discussions will identify obstacles that are discouraging junior officers from serving. This paper concludes with a recommendation that challenges alleged obstacles, encourages recruitment of this critical generation, and promotes continued Officer Service.

GENERATION CHALLENGES FOR ARMY TRANSFORMATION

In the April 2003 Transportation Planning Guidance (TPG), then Secretary of Defense, Donald H. Rumsfeld, identified transformation as:

A process that shapes the changing nature of military competition and cooperation through new combinations of concepts, capabilities, people, and organizations that exploit our nation's advantages and protect against asymmetric vulnerabilities to sustain our strategic position, which helps underpin peace and stability in the world.¹

Although, the Department of Defense's (DOD) definition of transformation is often interpreted differently by each of the services, the challenges of meeting all of the transformation objectives identified in the 2003 Transformation Planning Guidance is shared across all of them.

One of the significant hurdles that the United States Army will have to overcome in order to effectively execute all of its transformation goals will be attracting, recruiting, and retaining young officers to lead its Soldiers throughout the 21st century. In order to successfully execute the dynamic changes in operational methods, leverage the technological advantages of new equipment and remain competitive globally, the Army will need to successfully compete with the civilian job market and edge out sister services to attract a significant number of Generation Y officers into the ranks.

Over the past decade numerous articles have been written and surveys conducted heralding the arrival of generation Y and the potential impact that this young generation will have in the workplace. A few years ago the Army was just starting to deal with the challenges and rewards of successfully integrating Baby Boomers and Generation X into its formations without much concern for a third generation. Now, less than a decade

later another young and fascinating generation known as Generation Y has come to age and will need to be aggressively pursued for inclusion into military service.

To the Army's credit it has judiciously sought out various methods on how to appeal to, and invite this valuable group of young people into its formations. Despite the Army's recruitment initiatives, indications are that the attitudes, preferences and expectations of Generation Y, will present a considerable test for the Army as it continues to transform, prosecute the Global War on Terror (GWOT), and compete against frequent parent recommendations to consider options other than military service.

Over the next several years the inevitable retirement of the Baby Boomers will leave a marked void in expertise and manpower within the military ranks. The number of Generation X officers currently showing interest in the military and serving will not be able to cover the departing number of retiring Baby Boomers in addition to the long existing shortfalls. Growing the Army to the congressionally mandated levels without successfully attracting and integrating Generation Y will be problematic if not impossible.

Managing the complexities of transforming, attracting, recruiting, and retaining Generation X and Generation Y officers as well as dealing with these three generations simultaneously serving in the military will be the focus of this paper.

There are many names and titles used for the various generations making up the current workforce, however, for clarity, this paper will use the following descriptions for each of the generations discussed; the Baby Boomer generation born between 1946 and 1965, represents approximately 70 million people, Generation X, born between

1966 and 1977, represents over 20 million, and finally Generation Y, born between 1978 and 1988, also represents approximately 70 million people.² The differences between the three generations will be covered through subsequent sections in this paper.

Baby Boomers

The Baby Boomer generation previously represented the largest U.S. workforce during the 20th century, and while currently declining in numbers due to retirement, Boomers still continued to dominate leadership positions in the Armed Forces at the start of the 21st century. The Baby Boomer generation marks the advent of the television era, a time of rapid change and a shift in the influencing of the American population's ideas.

Despite exposure to several of the subtle themes that television introduced to Boomers during the late 1950s and 1960s ("peace-not war", sexual revolution, etc), numerous studies show that the Baby Boomers epitomize the current Army values of Loyalty, Duty, Respect, Selfless service, Honor, and Personal courage. Furthermore, in the workforce, Boomers work relentlessly in pursuit of goals, often at the expense of marriages, family, and personal lives.³

The Army's hierarchal system has unavoidably enabled the Baby Boomer generation to advance to the current senior leadership positions in the Army. The Baby boomers have understandably been reluctant to relinquish the reins of power and retire, and therefore will be key strategic players in the success or failure of the future Army remaining a vibrant force. The Baby Boomers have the honor of being the parents of Generation X and in some case Generation Y children.

Generation X

Generation X marked the arrival of the personal computer and Internet in the home. They came into the Army with a mastery of video games, most electronics, and a love for multi-tasking. Generation X also came into the Army promoting the advantages of technology and was not shy in offering their own thoughts and ideas on how they could get the job done better than their "analog minded" superiors. Also known as "Latchkey kids," Generation X learned to be independent during their childhood in the absence of their parents and appear to be less dependent upon parents and peers in their decision making and execution of tasks.⁴

Generation X thinks and operates a little different from both the Baby Boomers and Generation Y. They are not afraid to stand alone behind their thought processes that may be contrary to the status quo. At the moment they populate the mid-level Army leadership, and have the largest number of officers in the Army (see Table 1).

With their Boomer parents overworked and focused on accomplishing personal goals, Generation X children were often neglected and overlooked.⁵ Generation X developed a cynical, pragmatic, survivor mentality as they experienced a world much less idyllic than their Boomer predecessors.⁶ On a positive note, Generation X has been able to successfully draw from the numerous lessons learned during their childhood and apply them in resolving the challenges presented in military service. The successful integration of Generation X into the ranks over the past decade provides hope for the future Army and Generation Y.

Generation Y

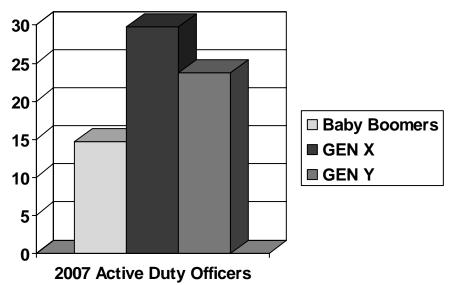
Generation Y almost represents a case of "deja vu" for the Army. Like Generation X, they are coming into the Army offering their own thoughts and ideas on how they can get the job done better than their superiors. Generation Y is often portrayed as the "look at me generation," a generation that seeks fame and fortune as a priority while having fun and experiencing life to the fullest. They tend to be technologically savvy and have a knack for solving problems. Their enthusiasm, their desire to learn, and their optimistic outlook in accomplishing innumerable tasks make them ideal candidates for military service.

Generation Y does have a cultural bias that is different from the current military culture and values. Generation Y advocacy of accepting openly gay lifestyles in society and the military will need to be addressed. Additionally, their acceptance of recreational drug and alcohol use, and degraded physical fitness levels are some of the factors that have narrowed the pool of candidates fully qualified for military service and will also need to be discussed.⁷

Generation Y is used to continuous parental involvement in their lives while growing up, and as a result of this previous micro-management they will expect to be told what to do. Additionally they will want and seek immediate feedback from superiors on their performance after completing a task. Generation Y is also not afraid to personally seek-out, and engage senior leaders with their opinions, and beliefs, even if it circumvents the chain of command.

Despite the desire for immediate reinforcement, an encouraging aspect of the data available about Generation Y is that most of these young people still believe in a strong work ethic and that there is value in doing something with their lives.⁸

Table 1 shows the current number of FY 2007 Army Officers by Generation (in thousands):



Source Table 1: U.S. Army Headquarters Department of the Army G1

Table 1.

Even though the active Army currently has over sixty thousand officers in its ranks across the three generations, there is still a significant shortfall in the number of officers needed to lead the 21st century force.

The delayed retirement of the baby boomers has provided a unique opportunity for three generations to potentially experience, unprecedented mentorship, relationships and workplace harmony, or intolerable inter-generational conflicts. The good news is that Baby Boomers and Generation Y have similar views in at least four of the seven categories identified in Table 2.

Some of the key differences between the generations are:

	BABY BOOMERS	GEN X	GEN Y
OUTLOOK	Optimistic	Skeptical	Hopeful
WORK ETHIC	Driven	Balanced	Determined
VIEW OF AUTHORITY	Love/Hate	Unimpressed	Polite
LEADERSHIP BY	Consensus	Competence	Pulling Together
RELATIONSHIPS	Personal Gratification	Reluctant to Commit	Inclusive
TURNOFFS	Political Correctness	Нуре	Promiscuity

Source: Ron Zemke, Claire Raines, Bob Filipczak

Table 2.

Each of the generations identified previously bring their own unique challenges to the workplace. However, the potential advantages of promoting diversification in thinking and approaches to solving the military's present and future tough problems presents an unprecedented opportunity to advance the Army throughout the 21st century.

Background

All of the services have struggled to meet force manning requirements for officers since Fiscal Year (FY) 1997 and will be aggressively competing to attract Generation Y. Although the services have met their aggregate accession goals for officers, the continuation rates of officers in grades O-3 and O-4 have declined since 1997 and left a significant shortfall (approximately 3,000 officers).

The Army further projects an increased shortage of more than 3,700 officers in FY2008 and estimates that annual shortages in excess of 3,000 officers will persist through FY2013 unless accessions (the number of new Lieutenants brought to active duty annually) can be increased and retention can be improved. It presently takes 10 years to "grow" a Major (from Lieutenant to promotion to Major), and 14 years if that Major is an academy or ROTC graduate (when the years of college are included). ¹⁰

The projected shortage appears to be a significant long-term challenge especially as the Army continues to transform and maintain a significant role in fighting the Global War on Terror (G.W.O.T.).

Understanding the differences between the generations will become critical for those desiring to win the recruiting battle. Successfully recruiting and working through the differences of three generations will ensure that the Institutional Army flourishes throughout the 21st century.

An encouraging aspect of this opportunity is that both Generations X and Generation Y exhibit the competence and technical ability to effectively lead the Army well into the 21st century and are well worth the time invested. At the moment Generation X represents the largest number of officers in the Army, however, a major increase of the number of Generation Y officers is anticipated and needed over the next few years to provide leadership to the force. Generation Y is growing faster than any other generation to date and is projected to dominate the workforce very shortly with over 31 million 17-24 year olds born between 1981 and 1988.¹¹

The five most important military motivators of interest identified by Generation Y

are: receiving educational assistance benefits, having adventures, developing pride and

honor in their profession, and gaining management experience. 12

The Army will need to determine if catering to the interests of the younger

generation will yield the greatest chance of success or create an unacceptable long-

term negotiating cycle.

Attracting and assimilating Generation Y into military service is extremely

important because according to the data provided from a 2007 Pew Research Center

study the diversity of this group will be important for enabling the military to be able to

truly reflect the U. S. population. Generation Y consists of:

31.5 Million 17-24 Year Olds born between 1981 and 1988

• 49.7% are Male

• 50.3% are Female

66% are Caucasian

• 15.3% are African American

13% are Hispanic

• 5.7% are Other

Source: 2007 Pew Research Center Study

Table 3.

A thorough appreciation for the number of qualified candidates in this generation is

also critical, because all of the armed forces have faced significant challenges over the

past several years in recruitment and will be fighting for this limited pool of resources.

The Army's declining performance in retaining junior company grade officers over

the past decade has forced senior leaders to seriously consider recommendations to

make changes in the way that the military interacts with junior officers.

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The continuously evolving commitment level of new recruits over the years has also forced the Army to put forth a substantial effort to help the institution comprehend the opportunities and potential challenges if Generations Y is not reached out to and incorporated quickly.

During the remainder of this paper, several key issues important to determining the way ahead for the Army will be discussed. These issues will be considered and discussed with recommendations to successfully attract, recruit retain, and integrate Generation Y into military service.

Issue: Perception of a Break in Faith

The U.S. desire to present a peace dividend to the American public after the end of the Cold War in 1990 pressured the Department of the Defense to downsize the armed forces in order to free up funds for other national interest.

The Army's answer to meeting DOD mandates during the early 1990 drawdown was to release hundreds of Soldiers and numerous junior officers from active duty.

Army Captains were released, Majors were allowed to take a 15 year retirement option, and Lieutenant Colonels were allowed to retire at that rank without meeting the time in grade requirement.¹³

The opening of "Pandora's Box" to solve the immediate drawdown requirements may have created the job versus profession mentality now demonstrated by younger Army officers over the past decade. The band-aid solutions used by the Army in the 20th century are now hurdles that must be overcome when recruiting and retaining Generation Y officers. Changing the officer's orientation from a career focus to an Active

Duty Service Obligation (ADSO) mindset, distorted the commitment level of a once career focused, dedicated, camaraderie filled, All-Volunteer Army.

Discussion

By letting thousands of officers depart without fulfilling their service obligation, the Army severely limited its ability to promote career military service.

Individuals serving in the Army during the late 1980s and early 1990s had been told that they were part of the greatest team and superpower on earth, and suddenly during the mid-1990s when thousands of Soldiers were released from the line-up they had to redefine their identity. The massive exodus in the mid-1990s of the junior officer grades that continue to be today's shortage groups, left behind a traumatized force. 14

The drawdown also forced officers at all levels to re-think where their personal loyalty needed to line up. The officers left behind often saw the painful separations that their comrades experienced, and then begin to start placing their own interest equal with or above those of the military. The perception of the Army discarding the concept of team to meet the requirements of drawdown has, in fact, proven to be a costly short term solution.

Over the past decade the Army has been able to meet its aggregate recruiting goals; however, the mindset of the force will need to be transformed to one of balance and self-less service when duty calls.

Recommendation

Quickly recruiting and integrating new Soldiers in the ranks to decrease the operations tempo (OPTEMPO) and frequency of deployments will be critical. Improved compensation and the focus on upgrading family housing will need to continue. The

Army has made significant strides in the right direction over the past two decades to demonstrate its understanding that change was required and will need to continue its efforts. To get back on track the institutional Army will need to deliver on its promises and commit to repairing the damages of the past perceived breech in faith. To facilitate a smoother working relationship with Generation Y, senior officers will need to maximize all opportunities to become familiar with the junior officers expectations early in their military career. Senior officers will have to invest the time to teach Generation Y officers and explain to them the value and purpose of the chain of command.

Re-establishing the faith, confidence, and commitment of the younger generation will require time and some undeniable keeping of future promises by the Army to regain the lost trust. The Senior Officers will need to personally interact with Generation Y and convince them that they are wanted and needed as part of the military team. In order to effectively gain influence over the younger officer senior officers may have to begin interfacing with them during Academy or Reserve Officer Training Corps (R.O.T.C.) classes, Basic Officer Leadership Course (B.O.L.C.), and immediately upon their arrival into the unit. Senior leaders will also need to actively listen to and promptly address family concerns. The Baby Boomers and Generation X officers will have to personally demonstrate the positive aspects of military culture if they want to successfully attract and integrate Generation Y into the Army.

Issue: Recruitment and Retention

The Army has tried several measures over the past decade in an attempt to remedy officer recruiting, and retention problems. The temporary stop-gap measures

used over the past couple of decades have delayed leaders from facing the real issues ultimately resulting in the current personnel shortages.

The Army has recently selected over 90% of officers in all grades through
Lieutenant Colonel for promotion, initiated early promotion pin-on times for Captains
and even recalled officers previously released under drawdown as temporary solutions
to address its attrition and retention problems. The recruitment, and retention
challenges are now at the point where the number of officers required for accomplishing
the nation's missions must either be reduced or drastic measures to attract and retain
junior officers must be identified and implemented immediately.

Discussion

The Army has stated that it values strong leadership traits and "thinking outside of the box"; however, Generation Y will challenge the Army to live up to and hold true to its own message and its stated goals of developing flexible, adaptive, and versatile leaders. Over the past decade the institutional Army has encouraged senior leaders to consider various techniques to relate to subordinates, to mentor, and seek ways to successfully incorporate them into the Army culture. Despite the Army's efforts to discover how to reach Generation Y, according to recent surveys conducted, Generation Y currently views the Army as the next to last military service that they will commit to (just above the Marines). ¹⁵

The Army's focus on transformation has been positive from the viewpoint that it not only focuses on improving equipment and technology to dominate the battle space in the 21st century but attracting, developing, and retaining the right people.

Generation Y in large numbers aspire to achieve fame and fortune above selfless service and loyalty to a job. The introduction of a self-centered mentality and disagreements across several points in the current Army culture may cultivate an environment for inter-generational clashes within the military. The Army senior leadership's commitment to changing the thought process of the current military culture is underway and is being emphasized by the Secretary of the Army (SA) and Chief of Staff, Army (CSA). The entire Army leadership will have to internalize and promote the Army's latest strategic communication message.

The most recognized strategic message changes to date have been to the Army's slogans, which have gone from the Baby Boomer familiar: "Be All That You Can Be", to the Generation X motto of, "Army of One", and now to the current "Army Strong" theme. Through recent changes in its methods, Army leadership has demonstrated its assertion to learn lessons from the past. The investment that the military has made so far indicates that it is trying to get, and stay in tune with the target recruiting audience to keep the Army vibrant.

Implementing a goarmy.com website, joining ranks with MySpace.com, posting Army video games on the World Wide Web, and conducting numerous studies to determine how to secure a commitment from Generation Y, demonstrate the Army's commitment to recruiting this critical generation.¹⁷

Recommendation

The Army will need to once again promote the advantages of career service. To further the Army Transformation objectives of, attracting and retaining a high quality All-Volunteer Force, leaders at all levels will have to commit to recruiting, training, and

mentoring the younger officers. Delivering on providing balance to the force may be one of the key elements that will inspire both Generation X and Y officers to commit to careers in the military. The Army will need to build on the concessions that it has made to Soldiers and their families in the past. Leadership will have to identify what it can or cannot deliver to families and follow through on its commitments.

Military leaders will need to demonstrate that the Army is committed to understanding and engaging junior officers and their concerns. Ultimately, the Army will have to address the differences in opinion with Generation Y on some of its core policies, and leadership principles and resolve them. Army leaders will need to demonstrate how transforming will provide challenging opportunities to Generation Y and provide them the direct access and mentoring to senior officers that they desire.

The Army will have to show Generation Y how the military will provide exposure to cutting edge technology such as robotics, weapons systems, etc. coupled with leadership experiences that will not be available in the civilian workplace. Junior officers will have to be allowed to multi-task and experience opportunities that will capture their curiosity and prevent boredom. If the leadership collectively commits to adjusting the military culture to include Generation Y it will be on target to achieve its recruiting goals.

Issue: Eliminating Confusion in the Ranks

A recent strategic level misstep that may have led to numerous questions and unraveling the seams of the chain of command would be the recent breaking of ranks by some retired General Officers. The Generals publicly questioned civilian leadership's direction and orders concerning the war in Iraq.¹⁸ The retired Generals may

have inadvertently set the stage for officers of all ranks to think that they can now publicly disagree with their leadership.

Discussion

The Army has attempted to use several different venues to promote a positive image with the American public over the past several years. The Generals' outcries (after their retirement) may have further complicated the Army's image, and message on how to properly deal with issues. The former senior leaders may have created confusion for the Army's younger generations who took note and asked questions such as: who is in charge, and how does today's Army voice disagreements with the chain of command?

The most noted response to the General's actions was generated by a senior field grade officer, Lieutenant Colonel (LTC) Paul Yingling. LTC Yingling published a stinging article titled "A Failure in Generalship," accusing the Army's Generals of lacking "professional character," "creative intelligence," and "moral courage." LTC Yingling's article was widely circulated and drove home the point of why leaders must display character, consider the impact of their actions, and lead with confidence in difficult situations when in charge.

While the response to LTC Yingling's article has been mixed, the concern is that young officers may have garnered the perception that the Army is not united, and that subordinates have the right to speak out publicly whenever they disagree with their chain of command. Generation X and generation Y officers witnessed this shift from the traditional way that the military had managed differences of opinion in the past, and began to present tough questions to senior leaders. Junior military officers

demonstrated their ability to leverage different media and communication venues such as MySpace, FaceBook, and blogs to voice their points of view about strategic leaders and their alleged failings.²⁰

Recommendation

Senior military leaders will need to personally meet with and candidly address issues with young officers. Follow-up will be required to determine if the previous meetings were of value. More personal discussions lead by the senior military leadership will be required and young officers will need to be taught why the Army's benchmarks are necessary. Senior leaders will need to engage younger generations of officers and personally provide feedback informing them of what is going on. Senior leaders will need to understand that the days of passing a statement to the force from the top through the traditional chain of command may no longer satisfactorily settle an issue with Generation Y officers.

Leadership at all levels should encourage changes in the approach to addressing subordinate questions and concerns. Leaders must explain the preferred way to handle differences in opinion and teach the importance of the chain of command.

Issue: Attracting Generation Y

The media routinely portrays the Army as the service that is fighting the hardest, and suffering the greatest losses during the Global War on Terror. Fighting the Global War on Terror with no foreseeable end state is rapidly becoming the number one concern compelling parents to recommend against serving in the Armed Forces.

To make the Army's challenge even more difficult, Generation Y parents have considerable influence over all of their decisions, and unwaveringly recommend college

and civilian careers above military service. Moreover, less than 50% of Generation Y in the recruiting age group eligible for military service considers the Army to be a career option.²¹ To further complicate the matter even more, a Pew Research Survey alarmingly declares that only 27 percent of the 31 million young people identified in the 17-24 age group of their study are fully qualified for military service.

Discussion

If the Army wishes to experience success in reaching Generation Y, it will have to overcome the impediment of convincing their parents that military service is still a viable option, and ultimately rewarding profession. The incredible pace that the Army has been operating at over the past half dozen years, with no end in sight, is one of the many challenges that potential recruits and their families must consider before committing to military service. Most of Generation X and some of the Generation Y officers who started joining the military ranks in 2001 now have more combat experience than a significant number of senior officers and will challenge opinions, and less than current information presented by superiors. The good news is that as the Army comes upon the close of the first decade of transformation the force is more experienced and it is accomplishing what previously took about four decades to complete.

The advantages of technology and getting more done faster with less forces, however, has potentially been a double-edge sword that has allowed leadership to ignore the weariness of the current force. Over the past couple of decades Army families forced senior Army leadership into honoring its message that families were important. As officers at all levels cited wanting to spend more time with their family as

the reason for not continuing a military career, the Army finally realized that making the families a point of focus was important to retention. As a result of listening to families, the Army senior leadership is once again promoting balance to all of the Army leaders as a requirement to get the force back on track.

Recommendation

Understanding and influencing Generation Y to become and remain a part of the Army team will require both Baby Boomers and Generation X promoting and being the example of Army values. Promoting the Army as a profession versus a job is an approach that might allow success for all parties concerned. The Baby Boomers and Generation X will need to demonstrate to Generation Y that the Army is made up of professionals, and provides camaraderie and valuable lifetime experience.

Mutual trust will have to be developed quickly between all three generations if the inherent generational differences are to be overcome. The ability to effectively expose the Army's positive attributes and to address the motivations that are important to Generation Y will be vital to success. Army leadership will need to become familiar with Generation Y viewpoints on culture, values, and how they believe that they can and will impact society. The leadership will need to continue to solicit constant feedback from the younger generations if they want to maximize the skills of Generation Y and minimize potential long-term problems in retention.

The Generation Y internal focus on comfort and personal concerns versus adopting the Army value of selfless service will have to be dealt with upfront. The Army will need to determine if making concessions on several fundamental and very important issues will require a major shift in the current military ethos. Also key value

differences will need to be settled. Army leadership will need to state whether negotiating and potentially adjusting long held Army core values is an option.

Getting the first wave of Generation Y vested in the Army, and implementing their feedback on how to attract and retain their peers will become critical tasks. The Army will have to promote its strategic goals of sustain, prepare, reset, and transform the force while supporting families to overcome most of the challenges of recruiting, and retention that it experienced at the close of the 20th century.

Conclusion

The U.S. Army truly has an unparalleled opportunity to succeed as it transforms itself in the 21st Century. The Army will need to convince Generation Y officers that the Army has been ahead of civilian society in promoting dignity and respect for at least a generation. Additionally, the Army will have to provide a level playing ground for the younger generations to learn and grow as they join the All-Volunteer force. The Army will have to overcome perceptions that it does not reward and possibly derails the outspoken, and those who challenge the institution's core values. Success will be realized by convincing Generation Y that their input is valuable and will be incorporated when it is in the best interest of the institution.

In the past, the pressure was on the junior officer to prove that they wanted to be a team player, and they were committed to military service versus seeking to be personally catered too. Indications are that Generation Y, will challenge traditional military thinking, and Army leadership will need to quickly consider whether to convert traditional thinking or potentially fail to attract this younger generation away from other competing interests.

The Army will have to consider several factors to overcome the initial objections of Generation Y, and possibly tailor its recruiting efforts to address the motivators that are most important to them. Maximizing the expertise of three generations of officers simultaneously will greatly enhance the Army capabilities as it continues its role as the enforcement arm of the last superpower in the world. The Army has been diligent in its transformation efforts and has made a significant investment in transforming its equipment and capabilities over the past six years. However, the most critical component of transformation that will ensure its success will be transforming its people and culture.

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¹⁴ U.S. Department of the Army, *U.S. Army Officer Retention Fact Sheet as of 25 May* 2007.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.. 35
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¹¹ Ibid.. 7

¹³ Charles A. Henning, 7.

¹⁶ Ibid., 7

¹⁷ Ibid., 11

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